/349 cont./

961 the other hand, the process of the separation of soul and body is
994 not new; he experiences it day after day, as we have seen, when
995 the shade /Schatten," shadow, shade"/ hastens away in the dream
828 and leaves his body behind in the hammock. Ordinary death is a deep unconsciousness (coma) brought about by the poison which the sorcerer administers, and it differs from sleep only in the fact that the shade hastens too far away to be able to return. Only the medicine man who poisons himself returns to life. The experiences of the shade during sleep were already "real"; hence its "experiences" after death are just as "real." One is familiar with this reality, which is merely life in another place, from daily experience and has it amply confirmed by the deceased, with whose shades our own communicates during the dream, and by the sorcerers who occasionally visit the realm of the dead; in the latter Hamlet may find the wanderers who return from the regions of the unknown country. To die to sleep, no more /cited in English/.

995 The shades of the dead Bakaïrí go to heaven to the ancestors. Heaven is first of all not the land of the future, but of the past, the old ones are still there where all history began. The heaven
[992] in which the first Bakaïrí lived lay beside the earth in former times, and one could easily get over to it. Too many people died there, however, /350/ so the people moved to earth, and heaven rose up to where it is now and where the animals, the places, and the things which occur in the old stories may be seen to this day. "Everything remained as it was." "There were always Bakaïrí, but in the beginning there were very few." One
[811] need only hold fast to a few specific points, and one will recognize, in spite of all flights of fancy and in spite of all the elaboration by tradition, a core of naïve, sound logic in the Indians' explanation of nature.

811 The Indians know no "must." They regard every occurrence in nature as a unique occurrence, or more correctly as a unique action. Indeed, laws are in fact known only as the result of the common work of many -- those who live and have lived. And as long as there are no laws and at best only habits, each individual is at the center of the

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772 By far the most important instance of the lack of abstract divisions, which at the same time is the most difficult to approach with our way of feeling and thinking, is the relationship of human beings to animals and of the individual animal species to one another. We say the native anthropomorphizes in his "fairy tales," he lets the animals speak and act like human beings. This is all right from our point of view, but if we were to believe that he gives animals human traits only for the purpose of telling a good story, this would be a tremendous misunderstanding, it would mean nothing more and nothing less than that we are denying him all his belief and knowledge: his belief for he has the same confidence in the wonderful stories that he tells about animals as every confirmed Christian has in the miracles of the Bible; his knowledge, for he could as little conceive of the world around him without his fairy-tale animals as the physicist the centers of energy without the atoms of matter -- si parva licet componere magnis /if it be permitted to compare small things with great ones/.

We must imagine that there are no boundaries at all between man and animal. An animal may be cleverer or more stupid, stronger or weaker, than the Indian, it may have an entirely different way of life, but in his eyes it is a person, exactly as he is; the animals are united, like human beings, in families and tribes, they have different languages, just like human tribes, but human being, jaguar, deer, bird, fish, they are all only persons of different appearance and different characteristics. One need only be a medicine man who can do everything, then one can change oneself from one person into another, then one will also understand all the languages spoken in the forest or in the air or [812] in the water. The underlying reason for this view is that there is as yet no ethical humanity; there is goodness and badness only in the crude sense that one causes another displeasure or pleasure, but moral judgment and ideal volition, influenced either by the prospect of reward or the fear of punishment, are altogether lacking. In that case, why should an insurmountable barrier between man and animal be assumed? The external observation of the

/351 cont./

772 ways of life, to which the Indian is limited, can at best merely indicate to man the position of primus inter pares. To be sure, the animal does not have bow and arrow and maize pestle, but that is the chief difference in the eyes of the Indian, and that is why the men arose from arrows, the women from maize pestles, but it does have, like man, important tools, for example, such as teeth and claws, which, indeed, he takes away from it.

825 Moreover, the Indian lacks our division into species, insofar as the one does not interbreed with another. This distinction, which /352/ experience certainly makes easily recognizable, is again completely obliterated because the barrier based on our anatomical knowledge falls away. Let us consider for a moment what our popular belief is capable of concerning this error: here one is confronted with a genuine mouse-skin, a genuine dog-foot, etc. If the Indian can explain something by the crossing of different species of animals or by that of animal and man, nothing prevents him from asserting it; on the contrary, he will see proof of it and merely conclude that such things no longer happen now because they are no longer necessary. Today, our learned men say, there is no longer generatio aequivoca, but at one time it surely occurred. The difference is all the more obliterated since the native is obliged to use the convenient explanatory principle of transformation in the widest latitude. Finally, he does not concern himself further about reproduction within the species, since the child is nothing but the father; the species or the tribe is like a single individual, which always appears under the same name; various subspecies, for example, the jaguar cats, large and small and differing in color, are brothers. Each of these "jaguars," however, appear by name, "campo fox," "deer," "ant bear" -- in all kinds of stories and no one asks whether it is, say, campo fox "V" or campo fox "XXIII." It is also precisely the same for the human forefathers in the ancestor legends; the women are usually taken as given, and the fellow tribesmen who accompany them always are.

772 811 I repeat, we are justified in using the expression "anthropomorphize" only as a schema, and it becomes false if one tries to

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811 /352 cont./ interpret it as though the Indian says, "I am a human being and let the animals behave like human beings too." The reverse, that human beings are animals, also occurs, and, to be sure, in
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[184] the good and bad sense. The Trumaí are water animals because they sleep at the bottom of the river. The Bakaïrí say this in
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[171] all seriousness. We likewise encounter among other tribes this same belief in human beings who live in the water. The Bororó
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[827] maintain that if one chews certain leaves one can remain for hours under the surface of the water and catch fish. I was unable to learn anything more specific about the "water life" of the Trumaí, except that they like to attack other tribes on the river and supposedly throw captives in the water with their arms tied. I do not know whether they were formerly river nomads, like the Guató; at any rate, they first learned agriculture from their
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[184] neighbors. Whatever may have suggested this belief about them to the Bakaïrí, it will not be vitiated by any conclusions that we might draw on the basis of our natural laws, "but, after all, the Trumaí are not animals, not fishes"; rather, the Bakaïrí concludes that because the Trumaí sleep in the river they are water animals, and he mocks and despises them, as happens to every tribe with
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811 strange customs. The Bororó pride themselves on the fact that they are red araras. They not only turn into araras after death,
[775] /353/ as well as into certain other animals, not only are the araras Bororó and treated accordingly -- they also express their relationship to the brilliant bird so cold-bloodedly that they designate themselves as araras as though a caterpillar were to say that it is a butterfly and, in doing so, do not at all wish to give themselves merely a name completely independent from their nature.

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772 Thus, the Trumaí are water animals because they have a habit of water animals, the Bororó are araras because their dead
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[171] are transformed into araras. One tries to interpret these and similar phenomena by the confusion of names and things which easily occurs in tradition. This is decidedly not the case among our Indians. Though it may be readily conceded that, where the basic view is present, such confusion automatically appears, nevertheless the basic view, undoubtedly present, must be put

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772 811 first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

772 773 811 But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; - for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakaïrí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one: It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

773 811 825 /354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

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821 order to watch as their dead grandmother Mero was burned. They
993 had set the fire themselves -- one can still see it in the large Magellanic Cloud -- while another, the small Magellanic Cloud, arose through their carelessness, which I shall speak of later in detail. Keri in particular is the hero of all these stories: he caught the mutung with the bird snare; he robbed the king vulture of the sun-ball by assuming the shape of a tapir whose dark forms one can still clearly distinguish in the Argo part of the Milky Way. Besides the tapir, one can also see a jaguar and an ant bear of the legend. In fact, one need not be an Indian in order to observe the animals; I, too, distinctly recognized the tapir in particular.

821 The native predominantly sees animals up there for the
151 same reason that he sees them down here in all kinds of things that remind him of some animal merely by some small characteristic; he cannot do otherwise because he apperceives chiefly in accordance with his hunter interests. It did not escape him, however, that the animals and things in the sky have a different appearance than their originals on earth, according to which they are determined. /361/ They are only figures. And yet they are more. For even though they may have been made at some time, he cannot regard them as works of art like his animal stools or sand drawings, because they move and are in the midst of a highly variable shifting of wind, clouds, and weather that takes place independently without one's seeing any human being. They must be bewitched.

772 All the more so since the same result is reached in another
793 way. They are necessarily the oldest animals and things that there are. Each earlier generation, no matter what it thought of them, saw them as complete as does the present one, whereas, according to all present-day and earlier experience, the rivers and trees and inhabitants of the earth of all kinds are small at first and then grow big. Now all the ancestors have disappeared; year in, year out those who die are always disappearing -- where else should the oldest people be than among the oldest things? But to
[761] die is to be bewitched and transformed, just as the medicine man who takes poison and dies changes himself into any animal shape desired.

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772 desired. Therefore, we have up there the oldest bewitched peo-
773 ple and things. The feather ball, the vulture, the jaguar, the tapir prove to the Indian the deeds of the oldest medicine men. The only thing needed for a fully logical conclusion would be to regard every dream as a bewitched state.

773 I have already discussed in the story about the vulture and
821 the turtle, how the coherent text of the legends comes into being, even before a dim historical tradition furnishes special material. There is no lack of material, since the various animals and things which one sees side by side up there must stimulate, according to their characteristics, all kinds of notions which explain
539 their being together. Thus legend tells how the king vulture, before Keri took the sun away from him, appeared with it in the dark hole of the Milky Way and then flew around in the sky. Well, the sun is apperceived as a feather ball; during the day it reaches the highest heights of the heavens where at night one sees a dark hole, and there the "red urubu" or magnificently colored king vulture, "the prince and ruler of his kindred (Brehm)," is the most conspicuous citizen in the realm of the air -- when this material has been gathered, only the inquisitive question is required and the connection cannot fail to appear. There is not much bother about the moon. It was "together with the sun at first"; later Keri and Kame divided the feathers between them.

I was given the following story about the five stars in Perseus. The giant armadillo -- we have seen that it, as the largest of the spherical tatûs, leaving its dirt behind, eventually covers the moon -- met Keri on his way. It was carrying a basket with pikí fruit, gave Keri some, and went on. Keri called after it, it stopped, again gave Keri some, and said: "I shall not give more." Then he seized the tatû, the fruits rolled all around, and the tatú worked its way into the ground. Keri made himself claws out of jatobá resin and dug it out. Again it worked its way /362/ in, again he dug it out. This happened five times in all and the five holes are the five stars. Therefore we have here only a meeting between Keri and the tatú already given, we know furthermore from the flute (Twins) that stars are thought of as holes; what is

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754 imagines the sorcerer as being in an animal approximately like the
756 Indian in an animal mask, who now is a dove, for example, and
812 behaves like a dove in voice and movement, but remains fellow tribesman X and is therefore able to fetch a gourd bowl full of pogu from the women, although he is a bird.

713 [712] Keri and Kame and the ancestor legend. The general basis of the world view of the Bakaïrí is his relationship to animal life. It assumes, however, one might say, that his science and poetry are of heavenly origin. The oldest Bakaïrí lived in heaven; this is proved to us by all that we know about the sun and moon, and everything that we see up there, the figures of the Milky Way, the starless areas, and the shining Magellanic Clouds. Strangely enough, there was nothing to be discovered in the way of ideas about thunderstorms, windstorms, clouds, rain, which are productive in a similar sense among other peoples. One had the impression that meteorology was still quite unexplored. There always remained the astronomical heavenly animals, to which were added the personages of the ancestor legend. The second main source of legend material flows in the memories of the tribe, but the two streams are so tightly intermingled that it is scarcely possible to distinguish what was originally supplied by the one and what by the other. The jaguar, behind which is concealed a cannibalistic neighboring tribe of ancient times, has become one with the jaguar of the Milky Way and to top it all, the zoological varieties of the jaguar family are available as a number of brothers.

[711] The names Keri and Kame show that foreign, and, to be sure, Aruak influence has played a significant role. These are the names for moon and sun of the Nu-Aruak tribes; they are not Karaiben /365/ words at all.* A coincidence is completely

*Cf. Bakaïrí-Grammatik /Bakaïrí Grammar/, p. 57. The Island Karaiben have a benign "deity," ischeiri, which can scarcely be connected with keri phonetically; if there is a connection and ischeiri is ancient